While the elephant was quilling on the rock, the hare slipped out of the hole and ran away. As he ran, he met some baboons, and called out to them to help him. They inquired why he was running so fast, and he replied that he was being chased by a great big person. The baboons told him to go and sit down, and promised not to give him up. The hare entered the baboons' hole whilst they sat down outside and waited. Presently the elephant arrived, and asked if the hare had passed their way. The baboons inquired whether he would give them anything if they pointed out the hare's hiding-place. The elephant said he would give them whatever they asked for, and when they said they wanted a veg full of his blood, he consented to give it them, after satisfying himself that the veg was small. The baboons then shut up every hole but one, and the blood gushed forth.

After the elephant had lost a considerable quantity of blood, he inquired if the veg was not full. But the baboons had made a hole in the bottom, and when the elephant looked at it, he saw that it was still half empty. The baboons jeered at him, and said he had as enough, so he told them to fill the veg.

They continued to bleed him, but still the veg would not fill, and at length he was exhausted to the ground and died.

The hare having nothing more to fear now then able to leave his hiding-place.

[illegible]

They were then formerly the brothers two who had lived, and they sang [illegible]

[illegible]

And they gave, and he them commanded by, and they [illegible]

[illegible]

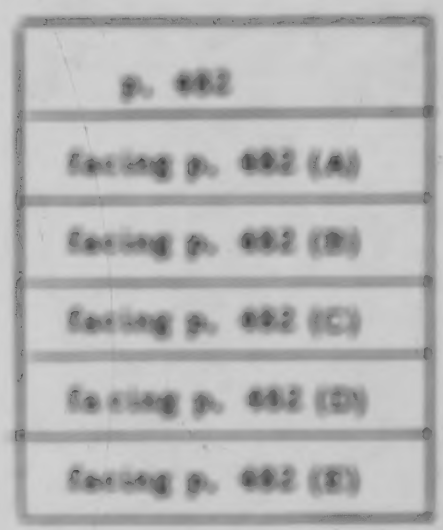
And he these gives [illegible] and they [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible], the veg, is only used in the plural. It cannot mean the singular.

* [illegible], the brother, can also be used for relation. [illegible] elder brother with the same mother, and in the second sylvan refers to full brother that relate.

● 602



Positions of kinship chart entitled "Maasai System of Relationship." /p. 602 & ff./

A NOTE ON THE [illegible] OF [illegible] AND OTHER ALLIED CONTRACTED TERMINATIONS.

By A. C. Sharp.

The principal forms of shorthand used by the Board are as follows:—

	Spoken or followed by	Unfollowed (family)	Remarks
Father	-arge	-ger	(1) father, -ger; -ful father, -arge.
Mother	-ight	-ge	(1) mother, -ge; -ful mother, -ger; -ful mother, -ger; -ful mother, -ger

	System of nobility	Informal family	Remarks
Wife	夫人(fūrén), 妻子(qīzi), 太太(tàitai) (all formal)	妻子(qīzi), 老婆(lǎopo), 太太(tàitai) (all informal), 爱人(àiren) (informal, to refer to husband or wife of marriage)	Figure 1 shows some the names of relatives, a child's name to refer the place of figure.
Son-wife	儿媳妇(érxífu) (formal)	儿媳妇	Son-wife. Shows on right side of head.
Daughter-husband Daughter Son-husband	女婿	女婿	Daughter-husband. Shows on left side of head. Daughter. Shows on right side of head. Son-husband. Shows on left side of head.
Grandchild	孙子/孙女	孙子/孙女 or 外孙/外孙女	
Son	儿子(érzi), 长子(zhǎngzǐ)	儿子(érzi), 小子(xiǎozi), 长子(zhǎngzǐ)	Figure 1 shows some the names to call by parents for small children, e.g., child to child (family), 小孩儿 (xiǎoháir) (to parents), 孩子 (háizi) (to parents), 宝宝 (bǎobao) (to parents), 宝贝儿 (bǎobèir) (to parents), 乖乖 (guāiguāi) (to parents), 娃娃 (wáwa) (to parents), 宝贝 (bǎobèi) (to parents), 宝贝儿子 (bǎobèi érzi) (to parents), 宝贝女儿 (bǎobèi nǚ'ér) (to parents), 宝贝孙子 (bǎobèi sūnzi) (to parents), 宝贝孙女 (bǎobèi sūnnǚ) (to parents), 宝贝外孙 (bǎobèi wàisūn) (to parents), 宝贝外孙女 (bǎobèi wàisūnnǚ) (to parents), 宝贝儿媳妇 (bǎobèi érxífu) (to parents), 宝贝女婿 (bǎobèi nǚxu) (to parents), 宝贝爸爸 (bǎobèi bàba) (to parents), 宝贝妈妈 (bǎobèi māma) (to parents), 宝贝爷爷 (bǎobèi yéye) (to parents), 宝贝奶奶 (bǎobèi nǎinai) (to parents), 宝贝外公 (bǎobèi wàigōng) (to parents), 宝贝外婆 (bǎobèi wàipó) (to parents), 宝贝叔叔 (bǎobèi shūshu) (to parents), 宝贝阿姨 (bǎobèi āyí) (to parents), 宝贝舅舅 (bǎobèi jiùjiu) (to parents), 宝贝姑姑 (bǎobèi gūgu) (to parents), 宝贝哥哥 (bǎobèi gēge) (to parents), 宝贝姐姐 (bǎobèi jiějie) (to parents), 宝贝弟弟 (bǎobèi dìdi) (to parents), 宝贝妹妹 (bǎobèi mèimei) (to parents), 宝贝堂兄 (bǎobèi tángxiōng) (to parents), 宝贝堂弟 (bǎobèi tángdì) (to parents), 宝贝堂姐 (bǎobèi tángjiě) (to parents), 宝贝堂妹 (bǎobèi tángmèi) (to parents), 宝贝表兄 (bǎobèi biǎoxiōng) (to parents), 宝贝表弟 (bǎobèi biǎodì) (to parents), 宝贝表姐 (bǎobèi biǎojiě) (to parents), 宝贝表妹 (bǎobèi biǎomèi) (to parents), 宝贝侄子 (bǎobèi zhízi) (to parents), 宝贝侄女 (bǎobèi zhínǚ) (to parents), 宝贝外甥 (bǎobèi wàishēng) (to parents), 宝贝外甥女 (bǎobèi wàishēngnǚ) (to parents), 宝贝孙子 (bǎobèi sūnzi) (to parents), 宝贝孙女 (bǎobèi sūnnǚ) (to parents), 宝贝外孙 (bǎobèi wàisūn) (to parents), 宝贝外孙女 (bǎobèi wàisūnnǚ) (to parents), 宝贝儿媳妇 (bǎobèi érxífu) (to parents), 宝贝女婿 (bǎobèi nǚxu) (to parents), 宝贝爸爸 (bǎobèi bàba) (to parents), 宝贝妈妈 (bǎobèi māma) (to parents), 宝贝爷爷 (bǎobèi yéye) (to parents), 宝贝奶奶 (bǎobèi nǎinai) (to parents), 宝贝外公 (bǎobèi wàigōng) (to parents), 宝贝外婆 (bǎobèi wàipó) (to parents), 宝贝叔叔 (bǎobèi shūshu) (to parents), 宝贝阿姨 (bǎobèi āyí) (to parents), 宝贝舅舅 (bǎobèi jiùjiu) (to parents), 宝贝姑姑 (bǎobèi gūgu) (to parents), 宝贝哥哥 (bǎobèi gēge) (to parents), 宝贝姐姐 (bǎobèi jiějie) (to parents), 宝贝弟弟 (bǎobèi dìdi) (to parents), 宝贝妹妹 (bǎobèi mèimei) (to parents), 宝贝堂兄 (bǎobèi tángxiōng) (to parents), 宝贝堂弟 (bǎobèi tángdì) (to parents), 宝贝堂姐 (bǎobèi tángjiě) (to parents), 宝贝堂妹 (bǎobèi tángmèi) (to parents), 宝贝表兄 (bǎobèi biǎoxiōng) (to parents), 宝贝表弟 (bǎobèi biǎodì) (to parents), 宝贝表姐 (bǎobèi biǎojiě) (to parents), 宝贝表妹 (bǎobèi biǎomèi) (to parents), 宝贝侄子 (bǎobèi zhízi) (to parents), 宝贝侄女 (bǎobèi zhínǚ) (to parents), 宝贝外甥 (bǎobèi wàishēng) (to parents), 宝贝外甥女 (bǎobèi wàishēngnǚ) (to parents) (last gone one)
Daughter-in-law	儿媳妇(érxífu)	儿媳妇(ér xífu) (family use), 媳妇(xífu) (family use)	
Son-husband	女婿 or 姑爷	女婿(nǚxu)	

[illegible] father	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] mother	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] brother	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] elder brother	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] younger brother	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] sister	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] brother-in-law	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] mother's husband	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] father's wife	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] father's husband	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] mother's husband	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] son	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] son	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible] daughter	[illegible]	[illegible]	

	Spoken of indirectly	Addressed directly	Remarks
Brother's brother's son	ei-ko-ngoge or ei-ngoi (boy or man); ei-ni-ngoge-ereng-ngoi (girl or woman)	ngoio (boy or man); ngogeloge (girl or woman)	
Brother's brother's daughter	ei-ni-ngoge ...	ngogeloge (boy or man); ei-ni-ngoge (girl or woman)	
Brother's sister's son	ei-ki-'aboi' or ei-ki-'aboro.	by name (family, ceremonial, etc., as brother)	
Brother's sister's daughter	ei-ni-'aboro or ei-ni-'aboro.	by name (family, ceremonial	
Son's son	ei-ahori (man); ei-ni-ahori (woman).	ahorige (man); ahorige (woman)	
Son's daughter ...	ei-ni-ahori (man); ei-ni-ahori (woman).	ngahorige (man); ahorige (woman)	
Daughter's son ...	ei-ahori (man); ei-ni-ahori (woman).	ahorige (man); ahorige (woman)	
Daughter's daughter	ei-ni-ahori (man); ei-ni-ahori (woman).	ngahorige (man); ahorige (woman)	
Wife's father ...	ei-ngoitoni	ki-ngoitoni or ei-ngoitoni (m).	
Wife's mother ...	ei-ni-ngoitoni ...	ni-ngoitoni, ei-ngoitoni or ei-ngoge.	
Wife's brother ...	ei-ngoitoni	ki-ngoitoni or ei-ngoitoni (m).	
Wife's half-brother			
Wife's sister ...	ei-ainitoni-ereng ...	ger-ainitoni or ainitoni (f).	In-ereng or ereng means feminine
Wife's half-sister	ei-ainitoni	ger-ainitoni or ainitoni (f).	
Wife's sister's husband	ei-ki-'aboi' or ei-ki-'aboro.	ei-ngoi-ngoitoni (m, if children, by name)	
Husband's father	ei-ngoitoni or ei-ngoi-ngoitoni or ngoitoni	ki-ngoitoni or ngoitoni	
Husband's mother	ei-ni-ngoitoni or ngoitoni	ni-ngoitoni or ngoitoni	
Husband's brother	ei-ainitoni-ereng ...	ger-ainitoni or ainitoni (m).	
Husband's half-brother	ei-ainitoni	ger-ainitoni or ainitoni (m).	

601

	System of nationality	Acknowledged Kinship	Remarks.
Husband's sister Husband's half-sister	*vaimâmai*	*gen-mâmai* or *vaimâmai*.	
Husband's half-sister's wife	*vaimâmai*	*gen-mâmai* or *vaimâmai*.	
Son's wife ...	*ne-gamai*	*nai-lâmai*.	
Daughter's husband	*di-ngaimai* (man); *ngi-ngaimai* (woman).	*di-ngaimai* (man); *ngi-ngaimai* or (Pitcairn).	
Brother's wife ...	*vaimâmai* or *ngâi* (man); *vaimâmai* (woman).	*gen-mâmai* or *vaimâmai*.	
Half-brother's wife	*vaimâmai*	*gen-mâmai* or *vaimâmai*.	
Sister's husband ...	*di-ngaimai* (man or boy); *vaimâmai* (or *ngâi* (girl or woman)).	*di-ngaimai* (m.); *gen-mâmai* or *vaimâmai* (w.).	
Brother's son Half-brother's son	*di-ngâmai, ne-gamai* ...	*nai-lâmai*.	
Brother's daughter Half-brother's daughter	*vaimâmai, ne-gamai* ...	*nai-lâmai*.	
Sister's son ... Half-sister's son	*di-ngâmai, ne-gamai* ...	*nai-lâmai*.	
Sister's daughter Half-sister's daughter	*vaimâmai, ne-gamai* ...	*nai-lâmai*.	

When listening to Maori talking to one another it would often appear as if many of the terms of relationship used were the same as names of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys, etc. This is chiefly due to the fact that whenever a woman is brought into the family by marriage it is customary for her husband's relations and their wives to give her an animal to show that she is recognised as a member of the family. The giver and the recipient ever afterwards call one another after the animal which has been given, to which the particle *gen* is prefixed.

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[515]

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

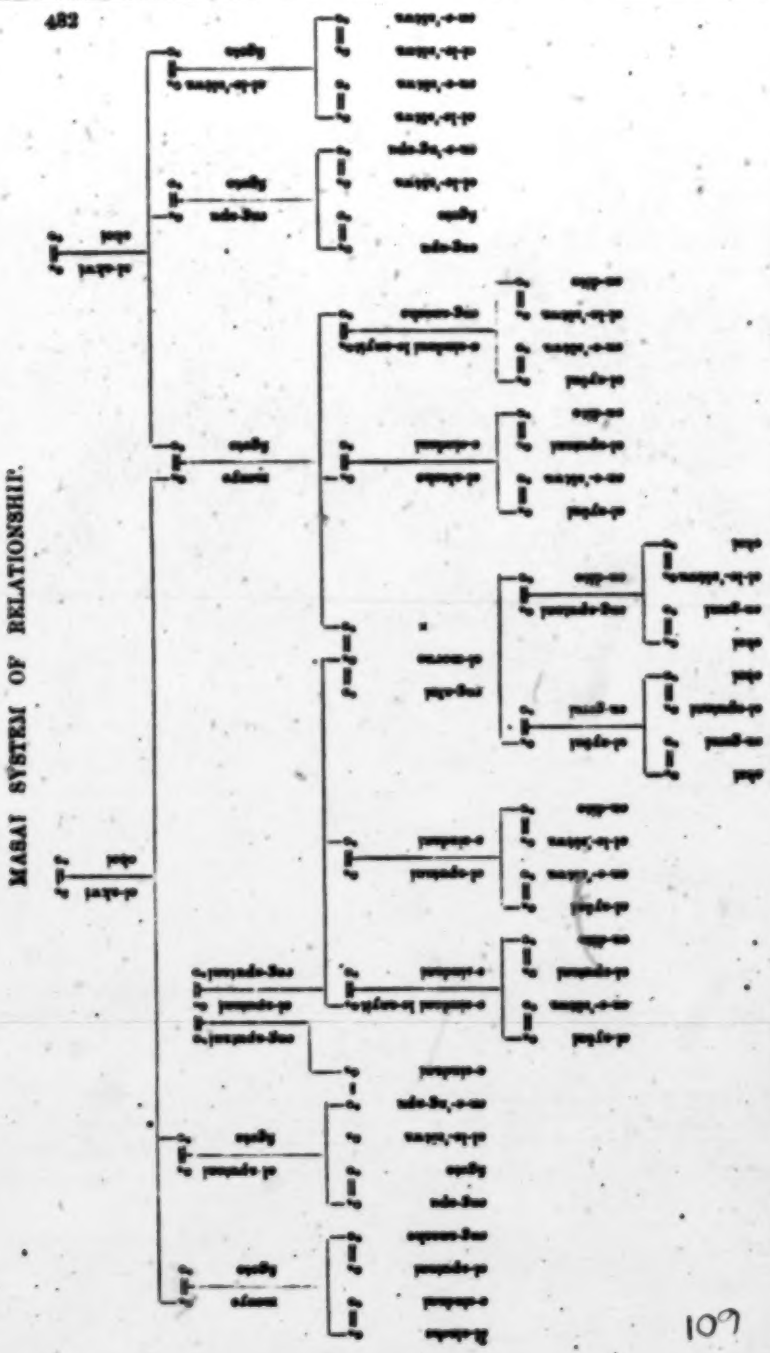
601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yeiyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kiteăg*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aĭni* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighirio*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kiteăg*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiăgŏni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayŏni*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an older brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merregesh* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kiteăg*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-moăgi*, the bullock; *pa-kishu*, the cows; *pa-oiăgŏni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buăgwi*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kuo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lalelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merregesh*, the ram; *pa-sighiria*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mao*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are those terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiăgŏni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kiteăg* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 626 754 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

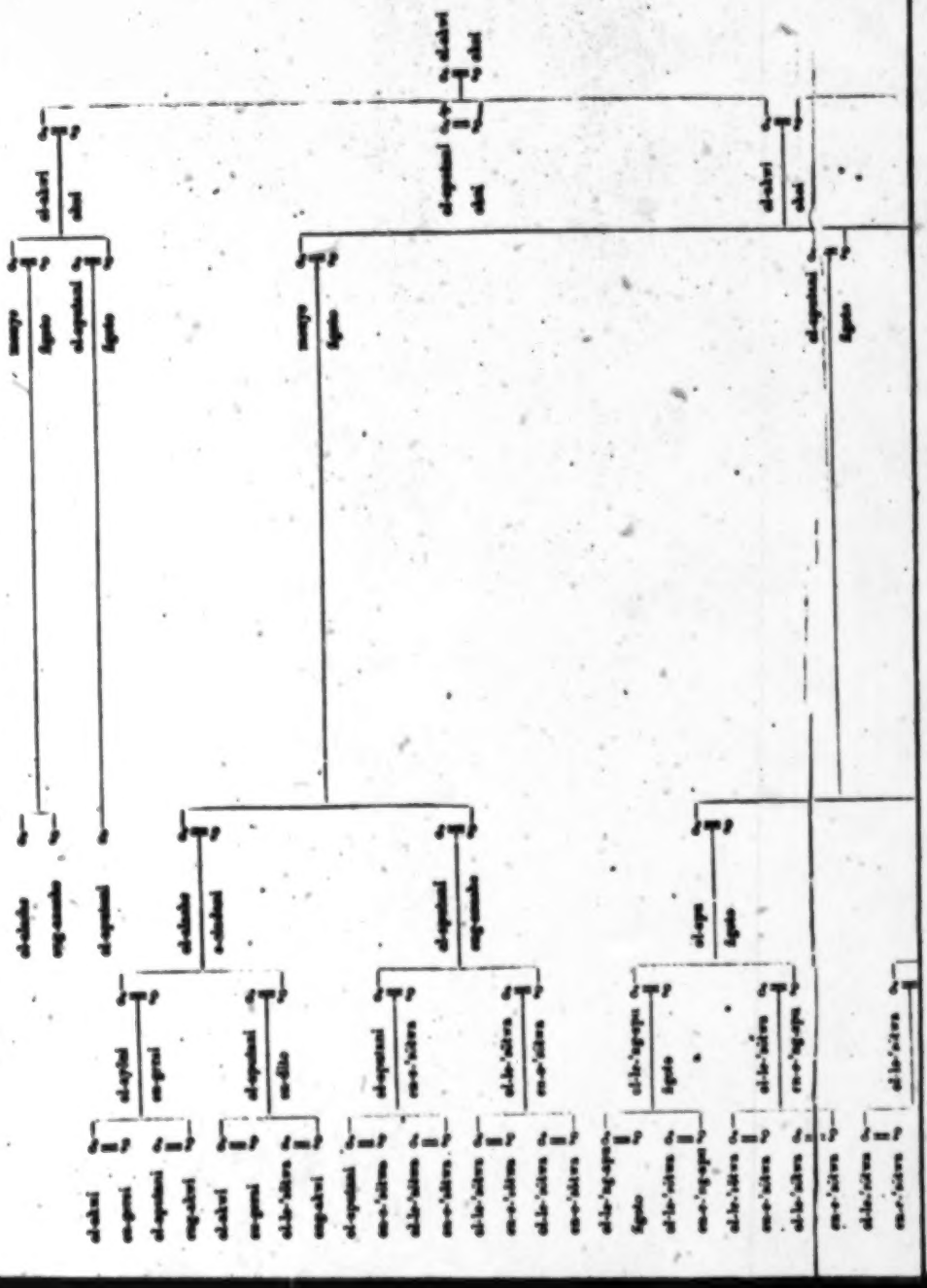
• 601



MASAI SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP.

[facing p. 482 (A)]

601



3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[Facing p. 482 (B)]

MASAI SYSTEM

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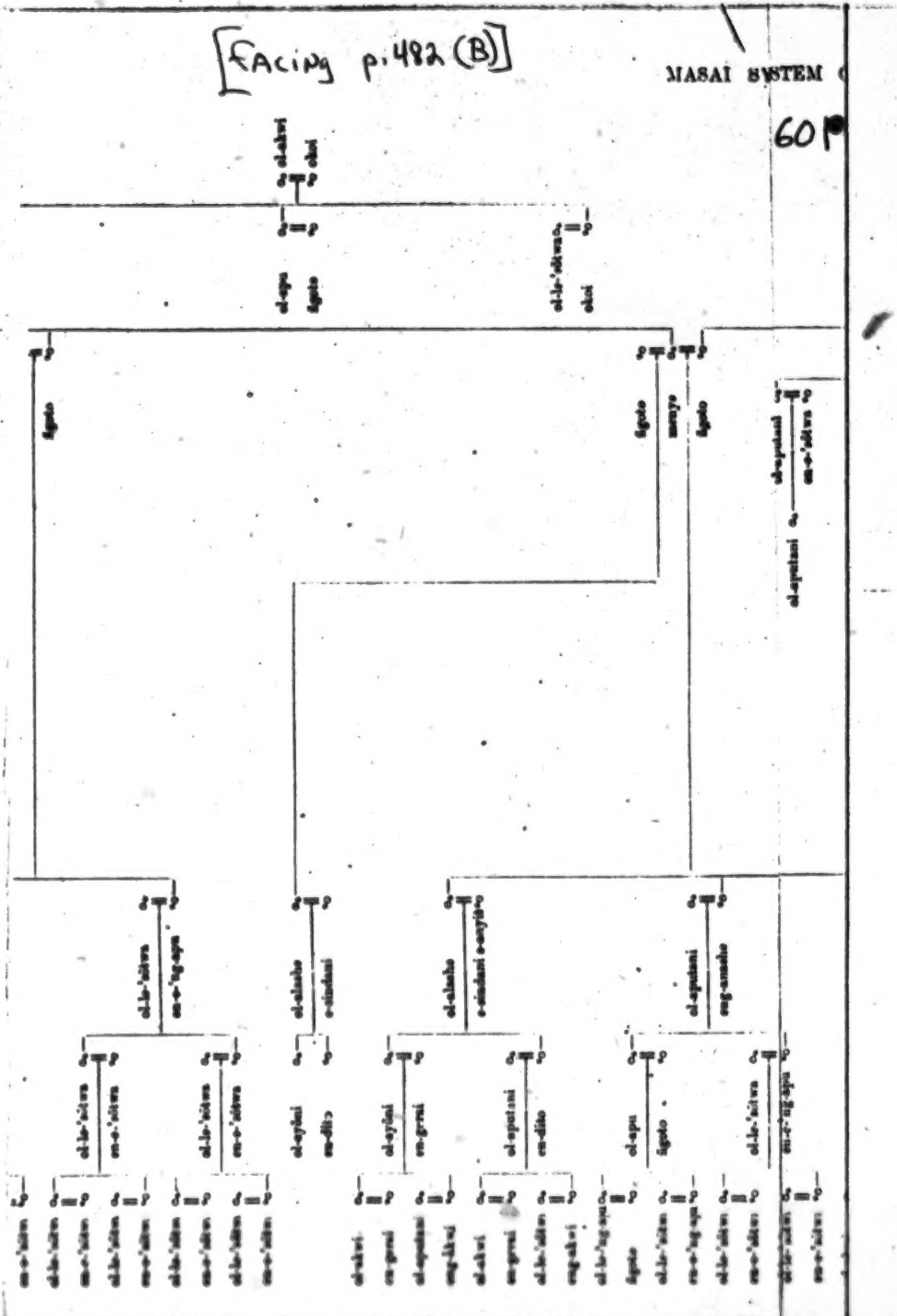
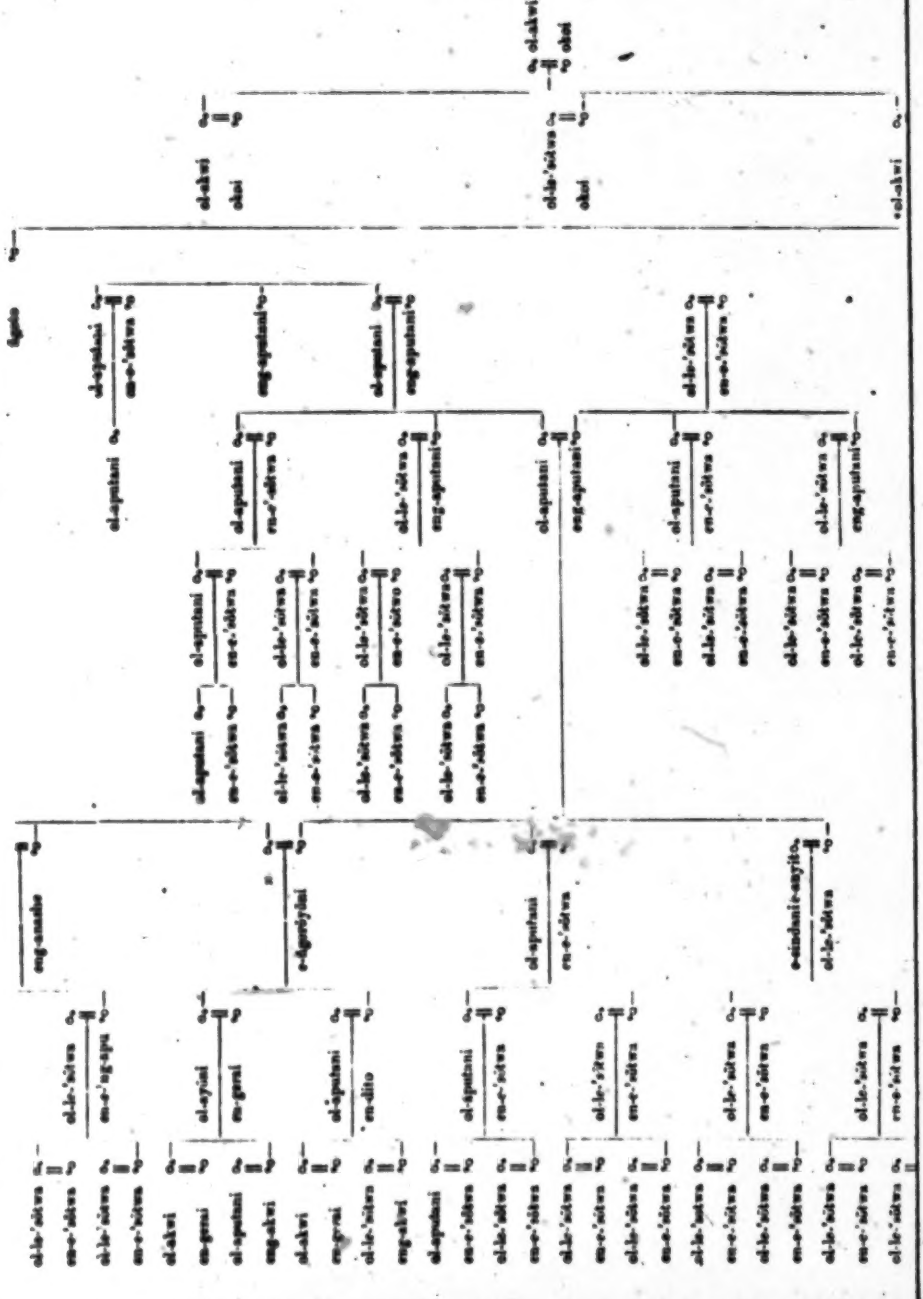
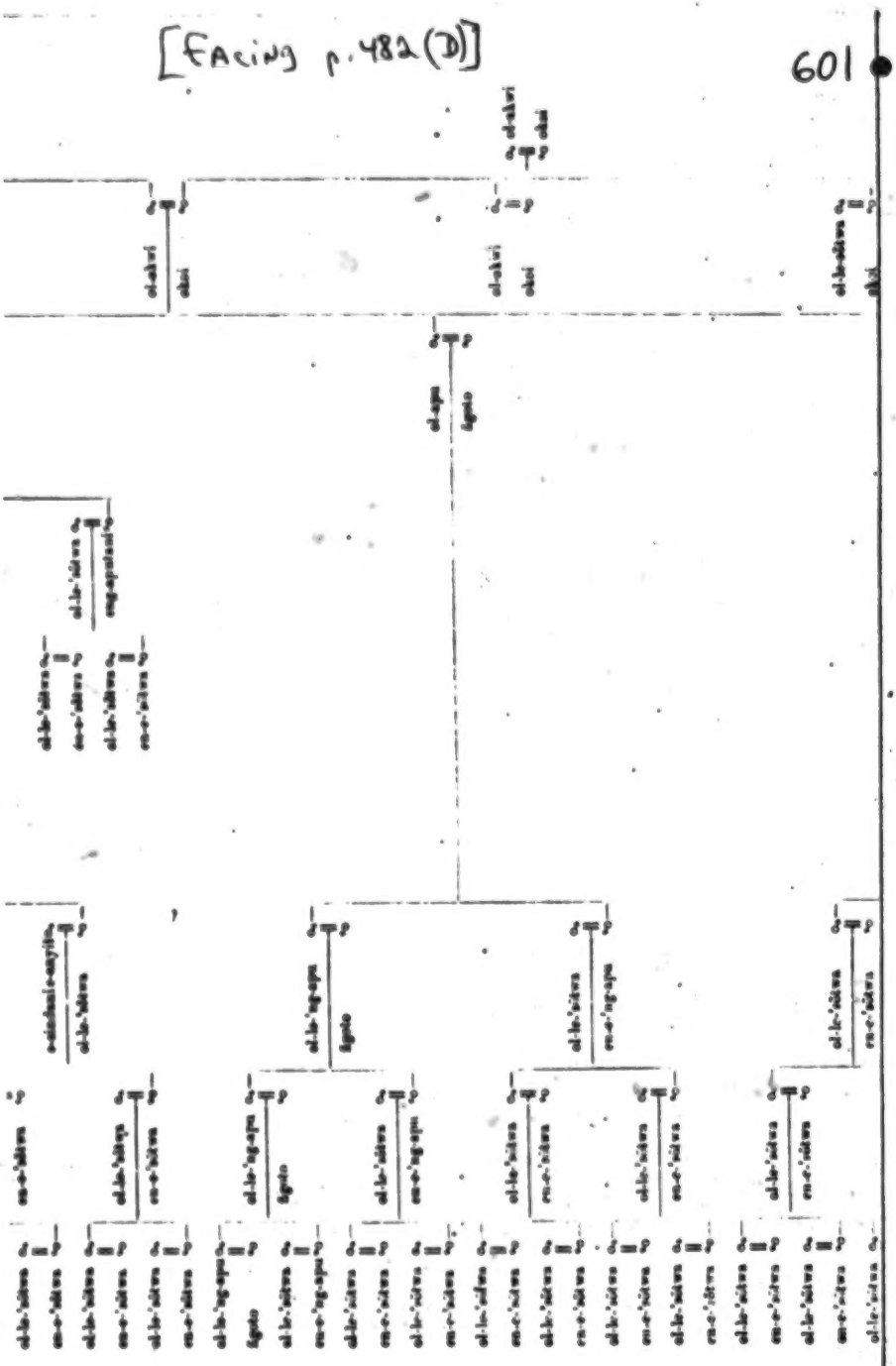


MASAI SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP. [Facing p. 492(C)] 601



3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[Facing p. 482 (D)]

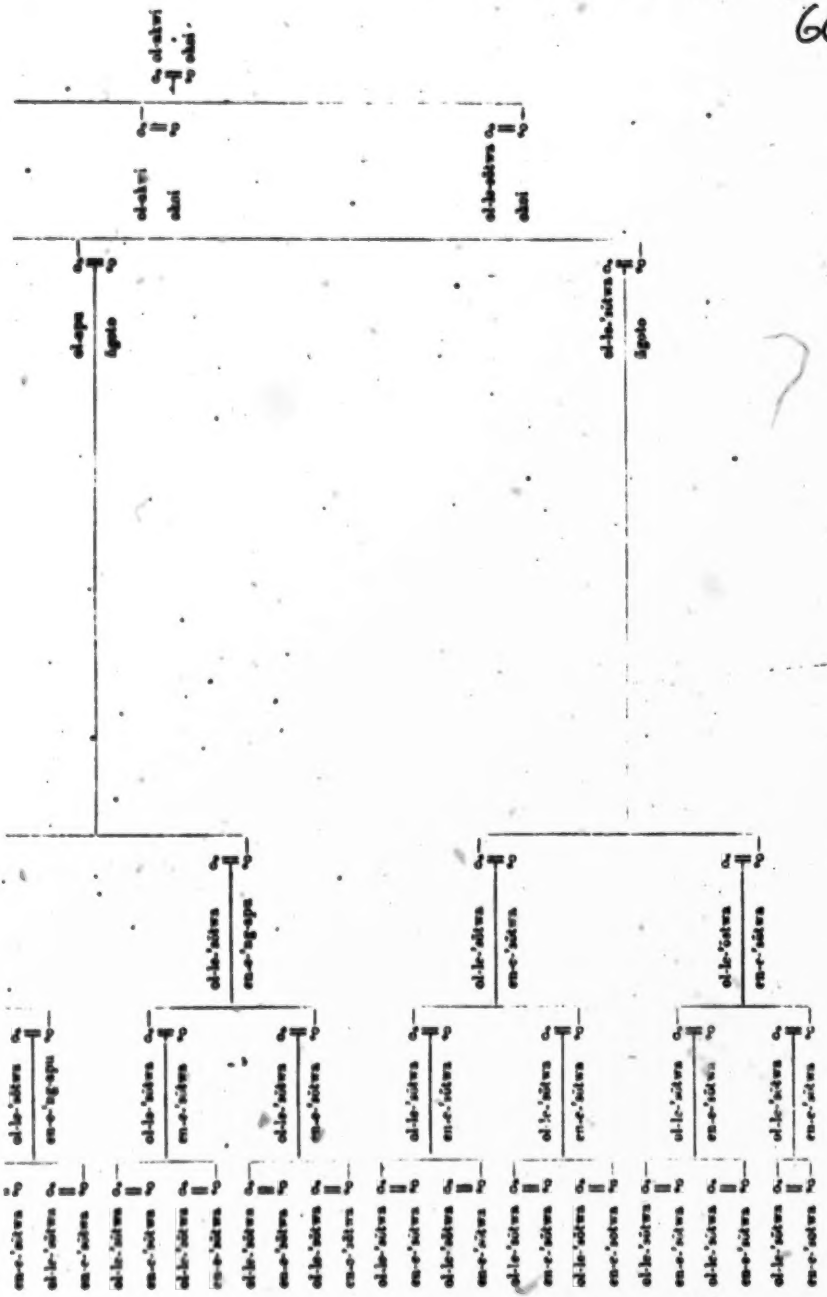


3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

[facing p. 482(E)]

To face p. 482.

601



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601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubin* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [851] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589
834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

759 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

if they are not already married. They have duties also towards the uncircumcised boys as guardians and instructors, while the elders of the *ol-aji* senior to them (see p. 117) are said to be responsible for the *ol-aji* of the warriors. One hundred years ago Krapf wrote that the Masai had six age-divisions: "(1) Engera, little children. (2) Leiok, boys. (3) Elmoran or elkeiteau, from 17 to 20 or 25 years of age. These have not yet married wives, nor obtained cattle of their own. . . . (4) Ekieko, who marry and have cattle of their own. (5) Esabuki, older than the Ekieko. (6) The Elkijaro or Elkimirisho, the aged persons."[16] A woman is classed as a girl (small, *en-kiyio;* older, *en-tilo*) till married, when she becomes *e-siankiki*, "young married woman," and then *en-kitok*, married woman.

Kinship and Behaviour

The Masai kinship system stresses agnatic descent, and in this respect differs somewhat from the kinship systems of the Nandi peoples; but the distinction between agnates is not taken into the third and second ascending generations. The Masai system is therefore different from the Nandi *tiliet;* and though the word *-sotua*, meaning both "peace" and "relative" occurs in the Masai system, it is not used with the group-significance of the Nandi term *tiliet*. The Masai system has not yet been studied in detail, and the following analysis is based mainly on Hollis's account, the fullest that we have.[17] Certain alterations and additions have been made after discussion with John Tombo ole Mbaei; but there are considerable discrepancies between him and Hollis, and this analysis must be regarded as purely provisional.[18]

There are 11 terms used of both kindred and affines, together with two others used only of affines. The words *koko*, *papa*, and *yieyio* are used without gender signs; *koko* is derived from *enk-oko; papa* and *yieyio* are the correct words for "father" and "mother" (not *menye* and *golo*, which mean "father of" and "mother of"). *Apu* and its derivatives take gender signs (*ol-apu, o-le-nk-apu, en-e-nk-apu, ol-aputani, enk-aputani*); as do *akui* or *akuyia* (*ol-akui, enk-akui*); *sotua* (*o-le-sotua, en-e-sotua*); *e-sindani* (only feminine); *ol-ayioni, en-tilo*, meaning son and daughter (both covered by *en-kerai*, "child," referring to either sex); and *ol-alashe*, brother, *enk-anashe*, sister, which have in addition the internal change of L to N indicating the feminine.

In the third ascending generation all males are *ol-akui* and all females *koko*. In the second ascending generation, all males are *ol-akui*, except the father's mother's brother, who is *ol-apu*. The wives of all *-akui* are *koko;* but the wife of *ol-apu* is *yieyio*. The husbands of *koko* are: (1) of father's brother's sister, *ol-aputani;* (2) of father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In the first ascending generation, the father and his brothers are *papa*, the mother and her sisters *yieyio*, as well as father's sister. Mother's brother is *ol-apu*. Father's brother's and mother's brother's wives are *yieyio;* husband of father's sister is *ol-aputani*, of mother's sister, *o-le-sotua*.

In a man's own generation, brother and father's brother's son are *ol-alashe*, and their wives *e-sindani*, brother's wife being distinguished as *e-sindani e-anyit* to indicate closer relationship. Sister and father's brother's daughter are *enk-anashe*, and their husbands *ol-aputani*. Father's sister's son is *ol-apu*, and his wife *yieyio;* mother's brother's son is *o-le-nk-apu* and his wife *yieyio*. Father's sister's daughter is *en-e-nk-apu* and her husband *o-le-sotua*, a term applied also to mother's sister's son and daughter (masc., *o-le-*, fem., *en-e-*), and to the husband of the mother's brother's daughter, who is *en-e-nk-apu*.

[16] *Vocabulary*, pp. 14, 15. In modern spelling, the Masai words are *en-kerai, il-ayiok, il-murran*. The remaining words are names of age-sets. (See p. 116.)

[17] *JRAI*, 1910, XL, pp. 473–82. This supersedes Merker's account in *Die Masai*, pp. 40–3. There is an excellent analysis of the Masai system by Radcliffe-Brown in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 18–22.

[18] It may be mentioned, however, that the use of terms within a tribe is not always uniform, as I have found among the Nandi; and this may sometimes account for apparent discrepancies.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, " child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, " boy," and fem. *en-tilo*, " girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok;* junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning " giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, " giver (receiver) of a bull " instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram).

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood.

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover.

/40 cont./

415 Now and then the receptacles are also replaced by two pouchlike
492 pack-holders (ol deretâl, el derēta), one tied on the other. These
[283] have the oval shape of a shield and consist of a wooden frame that
is covered with a plaited work of leather thongs or ropes. Other-
wise they serve to hold the pack loaded on the donkey and some-
285 times also on oxen. Mats are unknown; dressed neat-skins take
237 their place. Mortars are also unknown.
412

III.

000 Closer family relationships. -- Kinship designations. -- Terms of address for relatives.

602 Since every tribe and every lineage are descended from a
[613] tribal ancestor, the tribal and lineage members consider themselves
[614] more or less distant relatives. The family, one's own as well as,
ascending, those of the father and of the mother, forms the closer
[611] relationship. The child follows the father's family (father right).
[672] Relatives are not responsible for punishable offenses, fines, or debts
of a relative. Legally they need not support them either in con-
nection with impoverishment or release from captivity; it is such
a general custom, however, that probably no one ever evades it.

601 /41/ The Masai language is poor in particular kinship desig-
nations; most of them are made up of words for father, mother,
brother, sister, son, daughter, etc.

Father: baba.

Mother: jēje.

Another wife of the father: eŋg afhji e jēje.

Principal wife: e' ŋgorojoni kitok, that is, the great woman,
or en âltero eŋg aŋ, that is, the first in the kraal.

Every other wife: e' ŋgorojoni.

Brother (1):

1. Brother and sister come from the same wife,
half brother and half sister from different wives
of the same father.

/41 cont./

601 ol alasche or ol alahe (pl. el alaschana or el alahana).

Sister: eŋg anasche or eŋg anahe (pl. ŋg anaschara or ŋg anahara) or en didan or en ditan (pl. ŋg dojan).

Half brother: ol aijoni la baba (pl. el aijok la baba), or ol aijoni l'eŋg ãlnji e jẽjo; ol aijoni = the son or the boy.

Half sister: en dido (or en dito) a baba ('n doje a baba), or en dido eŋg ãinji e jẽjo.

Father's brother: ol alasche le baba.

Father's sister: eŋg anasche e baba.

Mother's brother: ol alasche le jejo.

Mother's sister: eŋg anasche e jẽjo.

Brother of another wife of the father: ol alasche 'l eŋg ãinji e jẽjo.

Sister of another wife of the father: eŋg anasche eŋg ãlnji e jẽjo.

Son of the father's brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche le baba.

Son of the father's sister: ol aijoni l eŋg anasche e baba.

Daughter of the father's brother: en dido (2)

> 2. Not infrequently one also hears en dido l ol alasche le baba; the l apparently should be interpreted, not as a grammatical irregularity, but as a concession made to euphony.

ol alasche le baba.

Daughter of the father's sister: en dido eŋg anasche e baba.

Son of the mother's brother: ol ãijoni l ol alasche le jẽjo.

Son of the mother's sister: ol ãijoni l eŋg anasche e jẽjo.

Daughter of the mother's brother: en dido ol alasche le jejo.

Daughter of the mother's sister: en dido eŋg anasche e jẽjo.

Son of my brother: ol aijoni l ol alasche lai.

Son of my sister: ol aijoni l eŋg anasche ai.

Daughter of my brother: en dido ol alasche lai.

Daughter of my sister: en dido eŋg anasche ai.

My grandfather: ol akuja lai.

My grandmother: koko ai.

/41 cont./

• 601 The grandfather designates the grandson as: ŋg akuja.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as: eŋ gerai eŋ gerai ai, that is, child of my child.

Father-in-law: ol abudani lai.

Mother-in-law: eŋg abudani ai.

Brother of wife: ol abudani or ol alasche le ŋgorojoni.

Sister of wife: es sidani ai or eŋg anasche e ŋgorojoni ai.

Wife of own brother: e' ŋgorojoni ol alasche lai.

Wife of the half brother: es sidani ai.

Different ones of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the ones for father and mother, who
551 are addressed as baba or jëjo. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species; if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-aiñoni, from ol oiñoni, the bull; after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'geteŋ or ba-'gischu (ol geteŋ, the ox; eŋ geteŋ, the cow; 'ŋgischu, the neat); of a heifer, ba-'n dauo (from en dauo); of a calf, ba-sche or ba-he (from ol or eŋg asche); for a donkey, ba-sigiria (os sigiria, the donkey), for a male calf, ba-moŋi, for a buck goat or sheep, ba-meregesch, for a mother sheep, ba-ger, for a she-goat or sheep, ba-ndare; for a she-goat, ba-gine; for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-suben; for a kid or lamb, ba-lelo, for twin lambs or kids, ba-mao (1).

1. El mao, the twins.

551 With all these designations may be addressed: the brother by the
576 brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one
[601] addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

/42 cont./

601 [431] [551] As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his children present her with a head of small livestock and call her accordingly, ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-ndare, ba-suben, or ba-lelo. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-geteñ, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en gijo. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother eraijo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, koko. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called koko if she is old; en akitok if she is younger. The latter (pl. 'n akitwa) is also the term of address on the part of /43/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece 'n gabulalja. The aunt calls both en gerai ai = my child.

601 605 For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en gijo before her circumcision and 'n gabulalja afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called arabá by a boy, the female cousin 'n eiba by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ol alacha 'Ng ai = the one given (me) by God.

/43 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gîbe are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aischa Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng alaja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng aluj'ai; [431] the grandmother, koko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are [551] called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

000 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary 595 Negro neighbors. As among the latter -0 and, to be sure, with- [71] out exception (1) --

> 1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [583] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/44 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (en dogitin = the things, each part of them, en dogi = the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[601] wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before,
[551] the /45/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other ba-geteń (1),

1. Cf. Second Part, III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ba-ger
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[595] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[431] the two call each other b'-asche, from the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address ba-ndare, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address ba-gine, ba-suben, or ba-
583 lelo is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[791] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zendeo he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his older sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/71 cont./

561 576 en díto to ol móruot bábă,
es siĕ̊ngíki to ol móruot bábă, or ol móruo, if the latter is almost the same age as her husband,
koko to ol móruot ol móruo.

[572] Friends often address each other with ol djore lai or ol jerai = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'n akítok, an ol barnoti or an ol morăni says to an es siĕ̊ngíki whom he has known from childhood 'siĕ̊ngíki or es siĕ̊ngíki, whereas an ol móruo in the same case uses the address term naíto. The term of address "'n akítok" for an es siĕ̊ngíki is more polite than "siĕ̊ngíki," the latter used toward a strange es siĕ̊ngíki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term es siĕ̊ngíki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your es siĕ̊ngíki."

The obsolete term address en dagíle, used for 'n akítok, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

• [601 651 431] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.